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DIRECTORATE OF INTELLIGENCE

FEBRUARY 1986

CENTRAL AMERICAN MONTHLY REPORT #31



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* * *

PERSPECTIVE

Opposition to President Duarte's economic austerity plan is coalescing on both the left and the right. Public frustration over the economy has grown and extremists are attempting to exploit it to provoke widespread discontent with the government.



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Marxist labor leaders linked to the insurgency continue to organize austerity protests--some brought out as many as 7,000 participants--and hope to foment a general strike by spring. They are attempting to create a national council--



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Thus far, however, the lack of widespread popular support and ineffective coordination in leftist unions, coupled with the government's restrained response to protests have allowed Duarte to avoid a serious confrontation with labor.



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Major democratic labor groups, although generally supportive of Duarte, nonetheless are demanding changes in the package to soften its impact on urban workers and peasants. Their media pronouncements have called for guaranteed prices to both consumers and farmers, increases in minimum salaries, mandatory salary increases for private sector workers, and effective price-control mechanisms.



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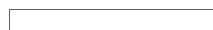
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This memorandum was prepared by the Central America North and South Branches, ALA. It was coordinated with the Directorate of Operations. It contains information available as of 3 March 1986. Questions and comments are welcome and should be addressed to Chief, Middle America-Caribbean Division, ALA.



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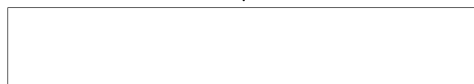


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[REDACTED]

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Private sector organizations, meanwhile, are attacking the austerity package for its lack of production incentives and excessive government interference, according to the US Embassy. Although they have yet to take any action beyond an extensive press campaign, businessmen remain highly suspicious of Duarte's populist style and the perceived anti-business posture of the ruling Christian Democrats. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] conservative politicians are considering establishment of a united opposition front--including rightwing parties, the private sector, and democratic and Marxist labor unions--to drive Duarte from power. Conservatives reportedly hope to exploit union protests against austerity and may even provide funds for marches, demonstrations, and strikes. [REDACTED] While it is unlikely that the right would directly fund guerrilla-backed union activities, [REDACTED] underscores attempts by diverse sectors of society to exploit the austerity issue for their own advantage. [REDACTED]

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The full impact of the austerity program--which soon may entail increases in utility rates and in prices of basic commodities--will not be known until spring. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] the administration is increasingly concerned about the potential for labor unrest and public protest, and the US Embassy has reported recent reversals by Duarte on increases in gasoline prices and some consumption taxes. Despite pressure from personal advisers and international creditors to hold firm on austerity, the President may backslide again as general living standards erode and the guerrillas escalate their destruction of economic resources. [REDACTED]

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SALVADORAN MILITARY DEVELOPMENTS

Guerrilla military operations declined during the month, although small clashes continued throughout the country as the Army capitalized on small-unit patrols and more effective intelligence collection and analysis. After appearing to wind down operation "Phoenix" on the Guazapa Volcano, the armed forces expanded the campaign into surrounding areas. The road between Aguilares and Suchitoto was cleared, and for the first time in several years displaced peasants returned to the area. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] supporters captured. Six additional insurgent base camps were destroyed this month and sizeable caches of arms, medical supplies, and insurgent documents seized. According to [REDACTED]

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Rebel activities generally were confined to economic sabotage and harassment of civilians in the countryside and terrorist tactics in the capital. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] Rebel broadcasts claimed responsibility for the recent murder of a US citizen, labeling him an undercover military adviser. They also [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

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[redacted]

announced that other Americans with tourist passports will be targeted for advising the armed forces and that the FMLN General Command will no longer respect the safety of Salvadoran Government or military dependents. The threat against family members allegedly is in response to government arrests and "disappearances" of insurgent personnel and their supporters. [redacted]

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NICARAGUA

In February, Managua tried to boost support for its cause in apparent anticipation of the US Congressional vote on aid to the anti-Sandinista insurgents. The Sandinistas hosted a conference of anti-imperialist organizations from the Caribbean and Central America as well as a meeting of Latin American leftist political parties. The US Embassy reports that Venezuela's ruling Democratic Action Party and Mexico's Institutional Revolutionary Party--strong backers of the Sandinistas in the past--did not attend. Managua fended off private criticism from a visiting Socialist International delegation by claiming it could not engage in talks with an opposition that is receiving aid from the US, according to diplomatic reporting. [redacted]

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[redacted] Managua also publicized the granting of amnesty to some 200 alleged counterrevolutionaries and requests from some 600 more for clemency, while blaming rebel leader Brooklyn Rivera for several recent atrocities. [redacted] the Sandinistas had set a plan in motion to lobby the US Congress and public directly for a suspension of aid to the insurgents. [redacted]

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Despite the risk of undercutting these image-building efforts in the West, the regime did not neglect its relations with Communist countries. President Ortega attended the Cuban Communist Party Congress, and Sandinista ideologue Bayardo Arce headed a delegation to the Soviet Communist Party Congress. [redacted]

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Meanwhile, the opposition launched its own campaign to influence international opinion. Six parties--four members of the opposition coalition and two from the National Assembly--publicly called for a ceasefire, new elections, and an end to the state of emergency. According to the US Embassy, the opposition believes the Sandinistas will demonstrate their intransigence by rejecting the proposal out of hand. Following a few critical remarks, however, Managua has remained silent, probably hoping to minimize international attention. [redacted]

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At home, the regime responded to the deteriorating economy by tightening its grip. At mid-month Managua announced more marketing and price controls with new ration cards for salt, sugar, rice, soap, and cooking oil, administered by the Internal Commerce Ministry. The government is hiring new market inspectors and asking the mass organizations to help monitor prices and reduce ration card abuses. [redacted]

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To improve controls over the industrial sector, [redacted] the Sandinistas--following Soviet suggestions--are setting up a Center for Small Industry with the authority to control business licensing, bank credits, and access to raw materials and foreign markets. The regime hopes the Center, which will report to the National Directorate and provide help only for politically responsive firms, will wean private business away from the influence of the Supreme Council of Private Enterprise. [redacted]

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Fighting inside Nicaragua remained relatively light for the second month in a row. The insurgents were forced to reduce their activities because of supply difficulties, and 1,200 of the 5,000 who have been operating in central Nicaragua for the past 10 months withdrew to Honduras.

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HONDURAS

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The decision of the Armed Forces to oust Chief Lopez on 1 February without consulting President Azcona suggests the new administration will be hard pressed to make the military accountable to civilian authorities. Although Azcona--nominally commander in chief of the armed forces--approved the appointment of former Navy Commander Regalado to succeed Lopez, US Embassy reporting suggests he apparently had no role in the selection process.

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US Embassy and

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--known as the "Fifth Promotion"--likely will restrict the flexibility of civilian leaders in national policy.

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Military corruption may emerge as the most contentious issue between civilian and military leaders. that Fifth Promotion officers are involved in schemes involving millions of dollars, and the US Embassy reports that officers already are pressing the government to legislate special tax breaks for themselves.

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GUATEMALA

President Cerezo this month appeared to be mixing pragmatism with populism in an effort to strengthen his position among diverse sectors of society. he continued to court the military by pledging full support to the Army's counterinsurgency and civic action programs. On the political and human rights fronts,

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[redacted]

Cerezo appointed a reformist police chief in an effort to minimize corruption in law enforcement, enhanced the authority of elected civilian governors over provincial military commanders, and assigned nine new judges to the Supreme Court. The US Embassy reports that Cerezo also urged the Congress to elect a human rights ombudsman and promised a 300-member gathering of the Mutual Support Group--a leftist human rights organization--that his government will address their concerns. [redacted]

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Meanwhile, despite assurances last month to US and other foreign lenders that he would quickly implement an economic austerity package, Cerezo procrastinated and even adopted a number of inflationary measures aimed at winning popular and labor union support. In late February, [redacted] congressional members within his own party began to pressure Cerezo to present a stabilization plan within 60 days or face preemptive economic legislation. Cerezo's reluctance to reduce consumer subsidies and his recent salary increases for teachers and other public employees has polarized his cabinet of technocrats and reformists. [redacted]

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[redacted] Moreover, he rejected his economic team's austerity plan, which called for exchange-rate unification and increases in import taxes and fuel prices. According to US Embassy sources, this action has heightened concern among private sector leaders, who probably will adopt a cautious attitude toward future investments. [redacted]

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COSTA RICA

At mid-month, San Jose and Managua announced an exchange of Ambassadors for the first time since Sandinista troops killed two Costa Rican civil guardsmen in a border incident last May. Negotiations to resolve the dispute had been underway since late last year, [redacted] but were postponed at President Monge's request until after the Costa Rican presidential election. US Embassy and press reporting indicates San Jose has requested a Contadora-sponsored border commission to verify the absence of anti-Sandinista rebels inside Costa Rica and to avert future incidents. [redacted]

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President-elect Arias stated that he opposed US military aid to the insurgents because it would undermine the Contadora peace talks and hinder a political solution, according to press reports. One of Arias's close advisers, however, told US Embassy officials at month's end that the President-elect will back military action if diplomatic and economic pressures fail to move the Sandinistas toward democracy and an end to the arms buildup. [redacted]

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PANAMA

Panamanian criticism of US Ambassador-Designate Arthur Davis for alleged intervention in internal affairs stirred bilateral relations at the end of February. Although the government party pressured President Delvalle to deny agreement, the administration stopped short of such action, and we believe that Davis will be able to take his post as planned in mid-March. [redacted]

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Little progress was made in negotiations with the World Bank for a structural adjustment loan to reverse Panama's deepening fiscal difficulties, with discussions centering on plans for various economic reforms. US Embassy banking sources indicate

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[redacted]

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that execution of an agreement still depends on Panama's willingness to make changes required by international bankers. Labor code revisions proposed by Delvalle have been strongly rejected by labor leaders, despite the military's backing, [redacted]
[redacted]. Furthermore, business and military leaders have refused to accept industrial tariff reductions to satisfy bankers' demands. [redacted]

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REGIONAL PEACE NEGOTIATIONS

February saw little progress in regional peace talks. Honduran officials told the US Embassy that the Contadora mediators--especially Mexico--resisted efforts by Honduras, El Salvador and Costa Rica to resume discussions of the draft peace treaty, stalled since last November. [redacted] the mediators evidently believe the document issued at Caraballeda, Venezuela in Janaury could serve as an interim treaty, with the details on verification and security measures to be established later. At month's end, the mediators and support group met to decide the next steps. According to the US Embassy, the Uruguayans said that one topic under discussion deals with efforts to press Managua for national reconciliation. In addition, [redacted]
[redacted] a proposal to visit Havana to enlist Castro's assistance in encouraging Sandinista flexibility remains under consideration. [redacted]
[redacted]

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6
[redacted]

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[Redacted]

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NICARAGUAN MILITARY BUILD-UP

[Redacted]

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1-2 February

Punta Huete Airfield. Spoon Rest D radar

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

at Punta Huete for

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the first time.

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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9 February

New high frequency radio direction finding site

[Redacted]

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[Redacted] at Nueva Guinea. This facility, which

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locates rebel units by triangulating intercepted radio

communications, is eighth of its kind in Nicaragua.

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

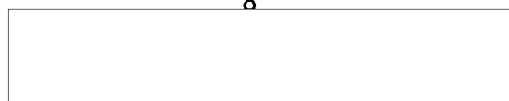


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SIGNIFICANT NICARAGUAN POLITICAL EVENTS

5-7 February	Daniel Ortega attends Third Cuban Communist Party Congress in Havana. <input type="text"/>	25X1
7 February	Six opposition parties present document to President Ortega which includes calls for ceasefire, suspension of state of emergency, and new elections. <input type="text"/>	25X1
10 February	Sandinista National Liberation Front holds first conference of political parties of Latin America. <input type="text"/>	25X1
14 February	Nicaragua and Costa Rica announce normalization of relations. <input type="text"/>	25X1
14-15 February	Contadora mediators and Central American Vice Foreign Ministers meet in Panama to discuss Caraballeda document. <input type="text"/>	25X1
21 February	Draft constitution presented to National Assembly. <input type="text"/>	25X1
24 February	San Jose sends team to Nicaragua to open discussions with Managua on establishment of permanent Contadora border commission. <input type="text"/>	25X1
26-27 February	Contadora Foreign Ministers meet in Punta del Este, Uruguay. <input type="text"/>	25X1
Early March	Contadora mediators and support group Foreign Ministers tentatively plan to visit Cuba to discuss regional peace negotiations with President Castro. <input type="text"/>	25X1

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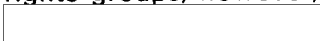
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NICARAGUAN HUMAN RIGHTS CHRONOLOGY

During February, Sandinista allegations of guerrilla human rights violations were down for the second consecutive month. Two private human rights groups, however, issued a report critical of the insurgents' human rights record. 

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 For its part, the regime came under increasing international criticism for human rights abuses, including harsh comments from traditional sympathizers in Western Europe. Allegations of abuses in major combat zones persisted, and the Sandinistas developed propaganda programs to improve their image. Two Sandinista defectors reported that Cuban advisers on several occasions encouraged the abuse of prisoners and another source claims the regime plans to intensify its campaign against the Church 

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Insurgent Human Rights Record

4 February

The proregime press reports that members of the Indian insurgent group KISAN kidnaped and threatened residents of Indian communities returning to their traditional villages along the Rio Coco. 

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5 February




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7 February

The proregime press reports that the government, with Cuban assistance, is producing a film that portrays alleged guerrilla abuses of Nicaraguan women during combat operations in Jalapa in 1982 and 1983. The film will be distributed in the US, according to the report. 


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13 February

Amnesty International issued its 1985 human rights report on Nicaragua, accusing the insurgents of "tortures and murders." 

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16 February

According to proregime press reports, rebels killed five civilians, including a visiting Swiss agronomist, during a night attack on vehicle traffic traveling near Somotillo in the north. An FDN spokesman has denied the allegations, asserting that no rebels had been in the area for two years. 

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[REDACTED]

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17 February

The proregime press reports that earlier in the month Indian rebels, operating along the Atlantic coast under the direction of insurgent leader Brooklyn Rivera, stopped a privately owned boat, robbed the 40 passengers, and raped 15 women. The US Embassy believes that the regime's unusual delay in printing the story suggests it may have been fabricated to discredit Rivera, who had abandoned negotiations with the Sandinistas on regional autonomy. [REDACTED]

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18 February

In their publicized weekly combat report, the Sandinistas allege that Indian guerrillas operating near Puerto Cabezas halted two trucks and kidnaped two civilians, while Indian rebels near Bonanza stopped another truck and kidnaped five civilians. [REDACTED]

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19 February

UNO announced the opening of its human rights office in San Jose, [REDACTED] [REDACTED]. A newsletter was scheduled for publication at the end of the month. Office staff planned to travel to Honduras to conduct human rights seminars for Indian rebels and several wanted to travel with Indian and FDN units to observe their behavior. UNO also intended to send a representative to an international human rights meeting in Europe. [REDACTED]

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20 February

The Washington Office on Latin America issued its 1985 human rights report on Nicaragua, in which it accused the rebels of 118 separate human rights abuses. [REDACTED]

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Sandinista Human Rights Record

3 February

The US Embassy, citing the proregime press, reports that 44 persons--all draft evaders or rebel defectors--received amnesty in Bluefields during January, making a total of 273 for the region in 1985. [REDACTED]

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3 February

The US Embassy reports that 2,500 former National Guardsmen remain in Sandinista prisons. [REDACTED]

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3 February

[REDACTED] Sandinista troops murdered one child and wounded another in the town of Dipina in central Zelaya. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

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4 February

According to a Costa Rican radio broadcast, the Sandinistas, in a goodwill gesture, intend to ask the National Assembly to pardon Costa Rican citizens imprisoned in Nicaragua for crimes against national security. [redacted]

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4 February

According to US press, the West German Social Democratic Party--one of the regime's closest West European supporters--released a highly critical report of its January fact-finding visit to Nicaragua. [redacted]

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5 February

The government, [redacted] has decided to launch an intense campaign against the Church, which will include the arrest and detention of priests. [redacted]

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6 February

Most of the local employees of the Venezuelan Embassy have resigned because of continued Sandinista harassment. [redacted]

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7 February

[redacted] in early December 1985, the Sandinistas murdered 30 families in a small village because of their support for the insurgents. [redacted]

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7 February

Rebel commanders returning to Honduras from combat inside Nicaragua, [redacted] report that in early January 1986 Sandinista helicopters bombed and strafed a village, killing three civilians. [redacted]

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7 February

[redacted] Sandinista troops operating along the Atlantic coast have been conducting draft roundups of Indian males and harassing Indian women. [redacted]

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8 February

Although the Sandinistas promised visiting former President Carter that they would release two political prisoners, the Embassy reported that the two received long prison sentences from the popular courts several days after Carter left Managua. [redacted]

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[redacted]

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10 February

The US Embassy in Managua, citing the proregime press, reports that Sandinista officials in Rama granted amnesty to 200 rebel defectors and sympathizers. [redacted]

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11 February

Amnesty International issued a report critical of the Sandinistas' human rights record, including illegal arrests, and prolonged detentions without due process, the use of psychological torture, and poor prison facilities. Government personnel were punished for the abuses in only two cases. [redacted]

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12 February

[redacted]

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12 February

[redacted]
government Army commanders, following the guidance of their Cuban advisers, murdered wounded draftees rather than be burdened with their care. [redacted]

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13 February

Amnesty International issues a report highly critical of Sandinista political repression, especially the popular courts. [redacted]

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14 February

[redacted]
[redacted] Cuban military advisers sometimes ordered Nicaraguan soldiers to bayonet wounded insurgents. In several instances the wounded were soaked with gasoline and set afire. [redacted]

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17 February

The Nicaraguan Government released five Social Christian Party activists, but 10 still remain in custody. [redacted]

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[redacted]

[redacted]

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[redacted]
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[redacted]
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19 February

Cardinal Obando y Bravo gave a Spanish magazine a list of 285 missing dissidents.

[redacted]
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20 February

[redacted] Sandinista troops operating in central Zelaya burned the home of an alleged rebel sympathizer in mid-February, killing two children, [redacted]. In the same village, they burned other homes and raped two women. [redacted] in late January, Sandinista troops murdered five adults and two children in a central Zelaya village. [redacted]

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22 February

[redacted]
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24 February

The Social Christian Party (PSC) informed the US Embassy that the Sandinistas murdered a local campesino leader in Leon Department in late January. This is the third peasant anti-Sandinista leader killed in recent weeks, according to the PSC. [redacted]

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25 February

An Indian leader, according to press reports, says the Sandinistas have used chemical weapons against them during counterinsurgency campaigns. [redacted]

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25 February

[redacted]
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26 February

A Sandinista defector reported that after his arrest in early February, he was forced to work on a farm in Rio San Juan. [redacted]

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27 February

[redacted] security officials arrested and imprisoned 12 Catholic lay workers in Nueva Guinea. One died while in

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[redacted]
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[redacted]
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[REDACTED]

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custody, probably from beatings. [REDACTED]

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28 February

[REDACTED] the General Directorate of State Security conducted a series of cross-border raids into Costa Rica during 1984 and 1985 with the intention of assassinating locals considered supporters of insurgents. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]






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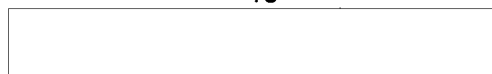
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NICARAGUAN TRIPS/VISITS

7 February	Socialist International Central American Study Group meets with Nicaraguan officials, opposition members and church leaders in Managua. 	25X1
9 February	Former President Jimmy Carter visits Nicaragua and meets with members of Sandinista National Liberation Front and opposition leaders. 	25X1
17 February	Nicaraguan Opposition Coalition representatives begin tour of Europe including Portugal, Spain, Italy, France, Belgium and FRG. 	25X1
24 February	Sandinista National Directorate member Bayardo Arce departs Managua to attend Soviet Communist Party Congress in Moscow. 	25X1
27 February	Minister of the Interior and Sandinista National Directorate member Tomas Borge visits Peru, Brazil and Uruguay. 	25X1



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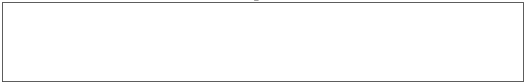


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[Redacted]

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COMING EVENTS IN CENTRAL AMERICA DURING MARCH

March	IMF team to Guatemala. [Redacted]	25X1
17-20 March	Guatemalan President Cerezo will travel to Venezuela. [Redacted]	25X1
Mid-March	President Duarte to make official visit to Costa Rica, then Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, and Peru. [Redacted]	25X1

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[Redacted]

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